

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 149723  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-15 /067 R

DRAFTED BY AF/P:BARUSSELL:ADR  
APPROVED BY AF/P:BARUSSELL  
AF/S - D. PETTERSON  
-----105609 280352Z /13

R 272324Z JUN 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

UNCLAS STATE 149723

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: OTTAWAY ARTICLE ON DIVISIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA'S  
RULING PARTY

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE, ENTITLED, "SOUTH AFRICA'S  
RULING HOUSE DIVIDED," APPEARED IN THE JUNE 27 WASHINGTON  
POST:

JOHANNESBURG, JUNE 26 - A HEATED DEBATE IS RAGING IN  
THE INNER SANCTUM OF THE RULING, AFRIKANER-DOMINATED  
NATIONAL PARTY OVER THE FUTURE RACIAL POLICIES AND POLITICAL  
SYSTEM OF THIS BASTION OF WHITE RULE.

THE FIERCENESS OF THE DEBATE, WITH TOP AFRIKANER  
MINISTERS CHALLENGING AND DENOUNCING EACH OTHER IN PUBLIC,  
HAS SHOCKED THE COUNTRY AND GIVEN RISE TO SPECULATION  
THAT THAT STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PARTY'S VERLIGTE (LIBERAL)  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 149723

AND VERKRAMPTE (ARCH-CONSERVATIVE) WINGS MAY END BY  
SHATTERING THE HARD-WON AND MUCH-CHERISHED UNITY OF AFRI-  
KANERDOM - THE BEDROCK OF THE ENTIRE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN  
POLITICAL SYSTEM.

EVEN THE POWERFUL BROEDERBOND, THE SECRET BROTHERHOOD  
OF AFRIKANERDOM'S MOST INFLUENTIAL MEN, IS THOUGHT TO BE  
DEEPLY DIVIDED OVER WHAT CHANGES, IF ANY, SOUTH AFRICA

SHOULD MAKE IN AN EFFORT TO MEET THE BLACK AFRICAN AND

INTERNATIONAL DEMANDS FOR A NEW RACIAL AND POLITICAL DEAL.

A SCHISM WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARTY COULD OPEN THE WAY FOR AN OVERALL REALIGNMENT OF WHITE POLITICAL FORCES WITH THE VARIOUS LIBERAL OPPOSITION PARTIES. BUT THE OPPOSITION IS AT PRESENT SO WEAK, BADLY FRAGMENTED AND DEMORALIZED THAT THE LIKELIHOOD OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT SEEMS SLIM.

THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION UNITED PARTY, WHICH RULED SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE 1948, HAS NO STRENGTH LEFT AND IS DISSOLVING ITSELF THIS WEEK. SO IS THE TINY DEMOCRATIC PARTY. THE REMNANTS OF THE TWO WILL FORM A NEW PARTY IN A POSSIBLE STEP TOWARD A UNITED LIBERAL FRONT.

THE NATIONAL PARTY'S LIBERAL WING HAS JUST COME OUT IN THE OPEN WITH A PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING A SWISS-STYLE CONFEDERATION GROUPING ALL THE PEOPLES PRESENTLY LIVING IN THE "WHITE" AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICA - THE 4 MILLION WHITES, 2.5 MILLION "COLOREDS," 750,000 INDIANS AND EVENTUALLY PERHAPS EVEN THE 9 MILLION BLACKS.

EACH RACIAL GROUP WOULD BE GIVEN A LARGE DEGREE OF UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 149723

AUTONOMY OVER ITS OWN AFFAIRS IN SEPARATE PARLIAMENTS BUT WOULD ALSO SHARE IN DECISION-MAKING ON "COMMON ISSUES" IN A SUPER-CABINET AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS LIKE THE TRANSKEI WOULD STILL BE SET UP FOR THE OTHER HALF OF THE BLACK POPULATION, BUT ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE ABOLISHED INSIDE THE CONFEDERATION.

THE CONSERVATIVE WING, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS INSISTING ON PUSHING THE NATIONAL PARTY'S OFFICIAL POLICY OF APARTHEID THROUGH TO ITS LOGICAL CONCLUSION - THE TOTAL POLITICAL AND RACIAL SEPARATION OF ALL THE COUNTRY'S DIVERSE POPULATIONS, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HOMELANDS FOR EVEN THE "COLOREDS" (PEOPLE OF MIXED RACE) AND INDIANS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF MOST SO-CALLED PETTY APARTHEID MEASURES.

THE CLASH OF AFRIKANERDOM'S TITANS OVER THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA HAS TAKEN ON ADDED IMPORTANCE SINCE THE START OF AN UNDECLARED RACE FOR THE SUCCESSION TO PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER.

WHILE THE 61-YEAR OLD AFRIKANER LEADER HAS DENIED ANY INTENT TO STEP DOWN SOON, SPECULATION OVER HIS HEALTH

AND POSSIBLE RETIREMENT IS RIFE. IN ANY CASE THE OUTCOME OF THE STRUGGLE OVER SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE RACIAL AND

POLITICAL POLICIES IS BOUND TO DECIDE WHETHER THE VERLIGTE OR VERKRAMPTE WING OF THE PARTY WILL NOMINATE THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER.

THE MAIN CANDIDATES FOR THE TOP LEADERSHIP POST INCLUDE P.W. BOTHA, THE DEFENSE MINISTER; CONNIE MULDER, THE INFORMATION AND INTERIOR MINISTER; P.C.J. KOORNHOF, THE CONTROVERSIAL MINISTER OF SPORTS AND NATIONAL EDUCATION; ADRIES TREURNICHT, THE OUT-SPOKEN DEPUTY MINISTER OF UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 149723

BANTU (AFRICAN) ADMINISTRATION, AND R.F. (PIK) BOTHA, THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER.

THE DEBATE OVER RACIAL POLICIES AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM HAS POLARIZED RECENTLY AROUND KOORNHOF AND TREURNICHT, THE FORMER BEING THE LEADING LIGHT OF THE VERLIGTE, OR "ENLIGHTENED" FACTION, AND THE LATTER STANDING A THE VERKRAMPTE CHAMPION OF APARTHEID, THE GUIDING POLICY OF THE NATIONALISTS SINCE THEY TOOK POWER HERE IN 1948.

THE OUTCOME OF THE STRUGGLE IS UNCERTAIN, AND THE FORECASTS OF KNOWLEDGABLE POLITICIANS VARY WIDELY.

SOME VERLIGTE SPOKESMEN, LIKE CAS DE VILLIERS, DIRECTOR OF THE LIBERAL AFRIKANER "THINK TANK," THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION, SEEM CONFIDENT OF VICTORY.

"THERE IS A MOOD FOR CHANGE IN OUR COUNTRY," DE VILLIERS SAID IN AN INTERVIEW. EVEN THE RIGHT-WINGERS WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSED CHANGES WHEN THE ALTERNATIVES - TOO GHASTLY TO CONTEMPLATE - ARE CONSIDERED. "IT IS NO LONGER A CRISIS OF SURVIVAL" HE ADDED.

HE ESTIMATED THAT 30 PER CENT OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY'S 123 DEPUTIES IN PARLIAMENT FALL ALREADY INTO THE VERLIGTE CAMP AND ANOTHER 30 TO 40 PER CENT OF THEM ARE "POTENTIALLY VERLIGTE". THE VAST MAJORITY OF AFRIKANER BUSINESSMEN AND ACADEMICIANS WERE ALSO ON THE LIBERAL SIDE, HE SAID.

"I THINK WE CAN SELL A VERLIGTE POLICY IF IT IS RESPONSIBLE." DE VILLIERS SAID. "I'M GOING TO MAKE A GUESS, BUT I'D SAY UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 149723

WE CAN SELL IT TO 70 PER CENT OF THE AFRIKANER POPULATION.

OTHER LOCAL OBSERVERS OF AFRIKANER POLITICS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE POLITICAL WINDS ARE BLOWING PRE-

CISELY IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION - TOWARD THE VERKRAMPTE

CAMP. THEY POINT TO THE RECENT PUBLIC POSTURING OF BOTH VORSTER AND MULDER WHO HAVE FELT OBLIGED TO BE SEEN SIDING PUBLICLY WITH TREURNICHT, EVEN THOUGH HE IS ONLY A JUNIOR MINISTER IN OPPOSITION TO THE KOORNHOF LINE OF THINKING.

TREURNICHT, THESE OBSERVERS SAY, COULD NOT BE SPEAKING OUT SO OPENLY AND BOLDLY UNLESS HE WERE CONFIDENT OF GAINING MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR HIS VIEWS INSIDE THE NATIONAL PARTY.

A SIMILAR VIEWPOINT HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN THE AFRIKANER NEWSPAPER VADERLAND, WIDELY REGARDED AS THE MOUTHPIECE OF MULDER, WHO AS LEADER OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN THE TRANSVAAL COMMANDS THE BIGGEST BLOCK OF VOTERS IN THE ALL-POWERFUL PARTY CAUCUS.

THE NEWSPAPER NOTED THAT "RIGHT-WINGS WINDS ARE BLOWING STRONGLY" AMONG AFRIKANERS AND THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE IS "HALT NOW, CONCESSIONS ARE NOT HELPING US AT ALL." HE CONCLUDED THAT TREURNICHT AND HIS SUPPORTERS HAD THE MAJORITY NOW IN THE PARTY CAUCUS.

WHETHER EVEN AN ETHNICALLY BASED CONFEDERATION LIKE WHAT THE VERLIGTE AFRIKANERS ARE PROPOSING WOULD SATISFY THE MAJORITY BLACK POPULATION, OR THE HIGHLY CRITICAL OUTSIDE WORLD, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. BUT IT APPEARS THAT THIS IS THE MOST CHANGE THAT CAN BE EXPECTED FROM THE POLITICAL DEBATE NOW UNDER WAY AMONG TOP AFRIKANER POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEADERS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 149723

BECAUSE THE RACE FOR PARTY LEADERSHIP IS UNDER WAY THE STATEMENTS OF THE VARIOUS MINISTERS ARE BEING ANALYZED, ATTACKED OR DEFENDED IN A SPECIAL LIGHT. AT THE SAME TIME, IT APPEARS SOME OF THE CONTENDERS ARE AS MUCH POSTURING TO RALLY SUPPORT FOR THEMSELVES INSIDE THE PARTY AS THEY ARE INTERESTED IN DEBATING ALTERNATIVES TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONALLY CONDEMNED APARTHEID POLICY.

FOR INSTANCE, MULDER HAS PUBLICLY ALIGNED HIMSELF RECENTLY WITH THE VERKRAMPTE CHAMPION, TREURNICHT, BECAUSE MULDER IS SUSPECTED IN SOME RIGHT-WING NATIONALIST CIRCLES OF BEING "TOO LIBERAL," WHILE FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA IS MAKING SUPERNATIONALISTIC STATEMENTS IN DEFENSE OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA IN THE UNITED STATES PARTLY BECAUSE HE TOO IS REGARDED AS EXCESSIVELY "VERLIGTE" INSIDE HIS OWN PARTY.

BOTHA'S SPIRITED ATTACKS ON THE APPARENT U.S. DEMAND FOR THE APPLICATION OF A ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE POLICY HERE AS A "COMMITMENT TO SUICIDE" FOR WHITES HAS EARNED HIM HIGH MARKS IN ALMOST ALL QUARTERS OF THE AFRIKANER ELECTORATE. HE IS NOW PERCEIVED AS THE AFRIKANER DAVID STANDING UP TO THE AMERICAN GOLIATH, A HELPFUL IMAGE FOR A NEWCOMER AND DARK HORSE IN THE RACE FOR THE PREMIERSHIP.

WHETHER ANY MAJOR CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICY AS A RESULT OF THE DEBATE IN THE NATIONAL PARTY IS STILL UNCERTAIN AND PROBABLY WILL NOT BECOME CLEAR UNTIL THIS FALL WHEN A CABINET COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED LAST YEAR TO EXAMINE ALTERNATIVES PRESENTS ITS

RECOMMENDATIONS TO A SERIES OF PROVINCIAL PARTY CONGRESSES.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 149723

NONETHELESS, THE BLURRED OUTLINES OF THE VERLIGTE WING'S PROPOSAL FOR A "NEW DEAL" IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE ALREADY BEGINNING TO EMERGE THANKS TO A STORM-PROVOKING SPEECH BY SPORTS MINISTER KOORNHOF AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PLURAL SOCIETIES LAST MONTH IN CAPE TOWN.

KOORNHOF, WHO IS ENGINEERING THE SLOW BREAKDOWN OF SEGREGATION IN SPORTS HERE, SUGGESTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA GIVE UP THE BRITISH-STYLE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM AND ADOPT SOME "VARIANT OF THE SWISS SYSTEM" OF SEMI-AUTONOMOUS CANTONS LINKED IN A LOOSE CONFEDERATION. IN DELIBERATELY OBSCURE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE (HE HOLDS A DOCTORATE IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY FROM OXFORD UNIVERSITY), HE SPELLED OUT HIS NOTION OF HOW A SYSTEM OF "PLURAL DEMOCRACY" MIGHT BE SET UP IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH AN "OVER-ARCHING INSTITUTION" ALLOWING FOR "CROSS-ETHNIC OR CROSS-COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING."

"IN A NUTSHELL," HE SAID, "A POLICY OF PLURAL DEMOCRACIES... IS A COALITION OF AUTONOMOUS AND MAINLY TERRITORIALLY BASED UNITS COOPERATING WITHIN A POLITICAL SYSTEM PROVIDING FOR "CONSENSUAL DECISION-MAKING" AT BOTH THE GROUP AND NATIONAL LEVEL.

"AUTONOMOUS INSTITUTIONS WILL ALLOW EACH UNIT TO HANDLE THE EVERYDAY NEEDS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WILL PROVIDE FOR THE COORDINATION OF COLLECTIVE BUT CONSENSUAL DECISION-MAKING IN MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST BETWEEN THE GROUPS."

WHILE KOORNHOF SAID HIS PLAN CONCERNED MAINLY THE WHITES, "COLOREDS" AND INDIANS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND

WOULD NOT INCLUDE THE INDEPENDENT BLACK HOMELANDS, HE HINTED AT THE INCLUSION OF THE NINE MILLION BLACKS NOW

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 149723

LIVING INSIDE THE SO-CALLED WHITE AREAS.

"THERE IS A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH BELIEVES THAT THESE BLACKS, AS SEPARATE COMMUNITIES, SHOULD ALSO BE ULTIMATELY PHASED INTO THE CULTURAL PLURALISM ORBIT," HE SAID. "POLITICS ESPECIALLY IN THESE TIMES ARE UNPREDICTABLE AND ONLY TIME WILL PROVE WHETHER THIS LINE OF THOUGHT IS FEASIBLE OR NOT."

THE KOORNHOF SPEECH CAUSED AN UPROAR IN CONSERVATIVE

AFRIKANER CIRCLES, PARTICULARLY OVER HIS SUGGESTION THAT BLACKS MIGHT ONE DAY PARTICIPATE WITH WHITES IN DECISION-MAKING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. TREURNICHT TOOK THE LEAD IN DEFENDING THE VERKRAMPTE'S SACRED COWS AGAINST KOORNHOF'S BLASPHEMY.

SPEAKING TWO WEEKS AGO AT A CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS, ONE OF THE VERKRAMPTE'S MAIN "THINK TANKS," TREURNICHT SAID THE ONLY CHANGES ACCEPTABLE WERE THOSE AIMED AT SPEEDING UP THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL APARTHEID.

"WE DO NOT WANT TO SIT IN A PARLIAMENT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER PEOPLES WHO CAN DESTROY THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE WHITES BY MAJORITY VOTE," HE SAID. "WE ARE NOT EVEN PREPARED TO SEAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SMALLER PEOPLES ("COLOREDS" AND INDIANS) IN OUR PARLIAMENT, AND THEREFORE WE ARE LEADING THEM ALONG THE PATH TOWARD THEIR OWN PARLIAMENTS WHICH WILL HAVE FULL AUTHORITY OVER THEIR OWN PEOPLE."

AS FOR THE NINE MILLION BLACKS LIVING IN WHITE AREAS,  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 149723

THEY WOULD HAVE TO LOOK TO THEIR EMERGING HOMELANDS FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR POLITICAL AND CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS.

IN EFFECT, TREURNICHT GAVE A LOUD "NO" TO ALL THE KEY VERLIGTE PROPOSALS: A SUPER-CABINET OF WHITES, COLOREDS AND INDIANS PARTICIPATING IN JOINT DECISION-MAKING, AND THE COMING TOGETHER OF ALL GROUPS, INCLUDING EVENTUALLY THE URBAN BLACKS, IN A SWISS-TYPE CONFEDERATION.

AT THE SAME TIME ALL BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS IDEOLOGISTS ARE EVEN PROPAGATING THE IDEA THAT THE INDIANS

AND "COLOREDS" SHOULD HAVE THEIR OWN SEPARATE HOMELANDS  
LIKE THE BLACKS AND BE TOTALLY BANISHED FROM THE WHITE  
POLITICAL WORLD.

WHETHER THE LIBERAL OR ARCH-CONSERVATIVE WING OF  
THE NATIONAL PARTY WILL PREVAIL IN THE POLITICAL AND  
IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE IS VERY MUCH IN QUESTION.

KOORNHOF AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE VERLIGTE WING, SEEM  
CONFIDENT THAT THE INTERNAL PRESSURE OF BLACK UNREST AND  
THE EXTERNAL INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD AND THE  
WESTERN POWERS GIVE THEM THE ADVANTAGE.

INTERVIEWED IN HIS CAPE TOWN OFFICE LAST WEEK, KOORN-  
HOF SAID HE FELT A PROPOSAL FOR NATIONAL POWER-SHARING  
AT LEAST AMONG WHITES, COLOREDS AND INDIANS WOULD EMERGE  
FROM THE CURRENT DELIBERATIONS OF THE SPECIAL CONSTITU-  
TIONAL CABINET COMMITTEE. HE SAID THAT THE KEY TO PUSHING  
THROUGH SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD BE GETTING A CONSENSUS  
AMONG AFRIKANER LEADERS AND THAT HE WAS NOW ACTIVELY  
ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF "CONSENSUS BUILDING."

"IF THERE IS A CONSENSUS AT THE TOP, THEN THE BOTTOM  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 149723

(OF THE NATIONAL PARTY) WILL FOLLOW," HE PREDICTED.

WHETHER A CONSENSUS WILL BE REACHED ON WHAT THE  
VERKRAMPTE REGARD AS A HERESY IN THE APARTHEID IDEOLOGY  
DEPENDS, IN THE VIEW OF KOORNHOF AND MANY OTHER VERLIGTE  
LEADERS, ON WHAT POSITION PRIME MINISTER VORSTER ULTIMATELY  
TAKES.

VORSTER SO FAR HAS SEEMED MORE ANXIOUS TO PRESERVE  
AFRIKANER UNITY IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS FOR SOUTH AFRICA  
THAN TO TAKE SIDES IN THE BATTLE. HE IS SAID TO BE  
EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT HIS ROLE IN AFRIKANERDOM HISTORY  
AND ANXIOUS TO AVOID BEING MARKED AS THE MAN WHO OVERSAW  
THE "GREAT DIVIDE" AMONG AFRIKANERS AFTER 30 YEARS OF  
UNINTERRUPTED RULE.

TO THE MINORITY ENGLISH-SPEAKING WHITE POPULATION  
OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE WHOLE DEBATE WITHIN RULING AFRIKANER  
CIRCLES HAS A SLIGHTLY SURREALISTIC APPEARANCE. BASICALLY,  
IT HAS VERY LITTLE MEANING TO THE "90 PER CENT OF THE  
POPULATION (THAT) IS STANDING BY WATCHING IN A DETACHED  
AND SOMEWHAT MYSTIFIED WAY," THE RAND DAILY MAIL REMARKED  
IN AN EDITORIAL.

"TO THIS GREAT MASS OF OUTSIDERS THE THING LOOKS

SUPICIOUSLY LIKE THE BEGINNINGS OF A POWER STRUGGLE TO

DETERMINE THE SUCCESSION OF THE LEADERSHIP," SAID THE NEWSPAPER. "BUT BE THAT AS IT MAY, WHAT IS REALLY SIGNIFICANT IS THAT AS THE ARGUMENT DEVELOPS THE THEME OF IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE VERKRAMPT.

"INDEED, IT HAS CEASED TO BE THE OLD CONTEST BETWEEN UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 149723

VERKRAMPTE AND VERLIGTES; NOW IT IS JUST BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT BRANDS OF VERKRAMPTHEID (CONSERVATISM). IT SEEMS THAT ANY KIND OF REAL VERLIGHTHEID (ENLIGHTENMENT) IN THE NATIONAL PARTY HAS BEEN ANNIHILATED."

U.S. SHIFTS ITS EMPHASIS ON SOUTH AFRICA, BOTHA SAYS

JOHANNESBURG, JUNE 26 (AP) - SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER R.F. BOTHA SAID TODAY THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS SHIFTED EMPHASIS IN ITS DEMAND THAT SOUTH AFRICA GRANT INCREASED RIGHTS TO ITS MAJORITY BLACK POPULATION.

BOTHA ARRIVED IN JOHANNESBURG AFTER A WEEK LONG VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

"I DO NOT RETURN WITH A COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT EXACTLY MEANS BY ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE MAJORITY GOVERNMENT AND THE CONCEPT OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT," BOTHA SAID.

"BUT THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT OF EMPHASIS IN THE SENSE THAT AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE MAIN AIM OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS THAT HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM MUST BE APPLIED ALL OVER THE WORLD."

BOTHA BEGAN HIS U.S. TOUR APPARENTLY CONVINCED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION INSISTED ON A ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE SYSTEM FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, INCLUDING BLACKS. IN A U.S. TELEVISION INTERVIEW, HE SAID, "WE'RE NOT GOING TO ACCEPT ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE. IT MEANS OUR DESTRUCTION."

THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID FRIDAY, HOWEVER, BEFORE HE LEFT WASHINGTON THAT HE HAD REASON TO HOPE THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT MODIFY ITS DEMANDS FOR RADICAL INTERNAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

VANCE  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 149723

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 149723



ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: AF/S:DKEOGH

APPROVED BY: AF/S:DKEOGH

-----126826 291604Z /53

O 291500Z JUN 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL DURBAN IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 149723

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 149723 ACTION CAPE TOWN PRETORIA JUNE 27.

QUOTE UNCLAS STATE 149723

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: OTTAWAY ARTICLE ON DIVISIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA'S  
RULING PARTY

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE, ENTITLED, "SOUTH AFRICA'S  
RULING HOUSE DIVIDED," APPEARED IN THE JUNE 27 WASHINGTON  
POST:

JOHANNESBURG, JUNE 26 - A HEATED DEBATE IS RAGING IN  
THE INNER SANCTUM OF THE RULING, AFRIKANER-DOMINATED  
NATIONAL PARTY OVER THE FUTURE RACIAL POLICIES AND POLITICAL  
SYSTEM OF THIS BASTION OF WHITE RULE.

THE FIERCENESS OF THE DEBATE, WITH TOP AFRIKANER  
MINISTERS CHALLENGING AND DENOUNCING EACH OTHER IN PUBLIC,  
HAS SHOCKED THE COUNTRY AND GIVEN RISE TO SPECULATION  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 149723

THAT THAT STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PARTY'S VERLIGTE (LIBERAL)  
AND VERKRAMPTE (ARCH-CONSERVATIVE) WINGS MAY END BY  
SHATTERING THE HARD-WON AND MUCH-CHERISHED UNITY OF AFRI-  
KANERDOM - THE BEDROCK OF THE ENTIRE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN  
POLITICAL SYSTEM.

EVEN THE POWERFUL BROEDERBOND, THE SECRET BROTHERHOOD  
OF AFRIKANERDOM'S MOST INFLUENTIAL MEN, IS THOUGHT TO BE  
DEEPLY DIVIDED OVER WHAT CHANGES, IF ANY, SOUTH AFRICA

SHOULD MAKE IN AN EFFORT TO MEET THE BLACK AFRICAN AND  
INTERNATIONAL DEMANDS FOR A NEW RACIAL AND POLITICAL DEAL.

A SCHISM WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARTY COULD OPEN THE WAY FOR AN OVERALL REALIGNMENT OF WHITE POLITICAL FORCES WITH THE VARIOUS LIBERAL OPPOSITION PARTIES. BUT THE OPPOSITION IS AT PRESENT SO WEAK, BADLY FRAGMENTED AND DEMORALIZED THAT THE LIKELIHOOD OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT SEEMS SLIM.

THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION UNITED PARTY, WHICH RULED SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE 1948, HAS NO STRENGTH LEFT AND IS DISSOLVING ITSELF THIS WEEK. SO IS THE TINY DEMOCRATIC PARTY. THE REMNANTS OF THE TWO WILL FORM A NEW PARTY IN A POSSIBLE STEP TOWARD A UNITED LIBERAL FRONT.

THE NATIONAL PARTY'S LIBERAL WING HAS JUST COME OUT IN THE OPEN WITH A PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING A SWISS-STYLE CONFEDERATION GROUPING ALL THE PEOPLES PRESENTLY LIVING IN THE "WHITE" AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICA - THE 4 MILLION WHITES, 2.5 MILLION "COLOREDS," 750,000 INDIANS AND EVENTUALLY PERHAPS EVEN THE 9 MILLION BLACKS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 149723

EACH RACIAL GROUP WOULD BE GIVEN A LARGE DEGREE OF AUTONOMY OVER ITS OWN AFFAIRS IN SEPARATE PARLIAMENTS BUT WOULD ALSO SHARE IN DECISION-MAKING ON "COMMON ISSUES" IN A SUPER-CABINET AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS LIKE THE TRANSKEI WOULD STILL BE SET UP FOR THE OTHER HALF OF THE BLACK POPULATION, BUT ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE ABOLISHED INSIDE THE CONFEDERATION.

THE CONSERVATIVE WING, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS INSISTING ON PUSHING THE NATIONAL PARTY'S OFFICIAL POLICY OF APARTHEID THROUGH TO ITS LOGICAL CONCLUSION - THE TOTAL POLITICAL AND RACIAL SEPARATION OF ALL THE COUNTRY'S DIVERSE POPULATIONS, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HOMELANDS FOR EVEN THE "COLOREDS" (PEOPLE OF MIXED RACE) AND INDIANS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF MOST SO-CALLED PETTY APARTHEID MEASURES.

THE CLASH OF AFRIKANERDOM'S TITANS OVER THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA HAS TAKEN ON ADDED IMPORTANCE SINCE THE START OF AN UNDECLARED RACE FOR THE SUCCESSION TO PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER.

WHILE THE 61-YEAR OLD AFRIKANER LEADER HAS DENIED ANY INTENT TO STEP DOWN SOON, SPECULATION OVER HIS HEALTH

AND POSSIBLE RETIREMENT IS RIFE. IN ANY CASE THE OUTCOME OF THE STRUGGLE OVER SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE RACIAL AND POLITICAL POLICIES IS BOUND TO DECIDE WHETHER THE VERLIGTE OR VERKRAMPTE WING OF THE PARTY WILL NOMINATE THE NEXT

PRIME MINISTER.

THE MAIN CANDIDATES FOR THE TOP LEADERSHIP POST  
INCLUDE P.W. BOTHA, THE DEFENSE MINISTER; CONNIE MULDER,  
THE INFORMATION AND INTERIOR MINISTER; P.C.J. KOORNHOF,  
THE CONTROVERSIAL MINISTER OF SPORTS AND NATIONAL EDUCATION;  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 149723

ADRIES TREURNICHT, THE OUT-SPOKEN DEPUTY MINISTER OF  
BANTU (AFRICAN) ADMINISTRATION, AND R.F. (PIK) BOTHA,  
THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER.

THE DEBATE OVER RACIAL POLICIES AND THE POLITICAL  
SYSTEM HAS POLARIZED RECENTLY AROUND KOORNHOF AND TREUR-  
NICHT, THE FORMER BEING THE LEADING LIGHT OF THE VERLIGTE,  
OR "ENLIGHTENED" FACTION, AND THE LATTER STANDING AS  
THE  
VERKRAMPTE CHAMPION OF APARTHEID, THE GUIDING POLICY OF  
THE NATIONALISTS SINCE THEY TOOK POWER HERE IN 1948.

THE OUTCOME OF THE STRUGGLE IS UNCERTAIN, AND THE  
FORECASTS OF KNOWLEDGABLE POLITICIANS VARY WIDELY.

SOME VERLIGTE SPOKESMEN, LIKE CAS DE VILLIERS, DIREC-  
TOR OF THE LIBERAL AFRIKANER "THINK TANK," THE FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION, SEEM CONFIDENT OF VICTORY.

"THERE IS A MOOD FOR CHANGE IN OUR COUNTRY," DE  
VILLIERS SAID IN AN INTERVIEW. EVEN THE RIGHT-WINGERS  
WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSED CHANGES WHEN THE ALTERNATIVES -  
TOO GHASTLY TO CONTEMPLATE - ARE CONSIDERED. "IT IS NO  
LONGER A CRISIS OF SURVIVAL" HE ADDED.

HE ESTIMATED THAT 30 PER CENT OF THE NATIONALIST  
PARTY'S 123 DEPUTIES IN PARLIAMENT FALL ALREADY INTO THE  
VERLIGTE CAMP AND ANOTHER 30 TO 40 PER CENT OF THEM ARE  
"POTENTIALLY VERLIGTE". THE VAST MAJORITY OF AFRIKANER  
BUSINESSMEN AND ACADEMICIANS WERE ALSO ON THE LIBERAL  
SIDE, HE SAID.

"I THINK WE CAN SELL A VERLIGTE POLICY IF IT IS RESPONSIBLE."  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 149723

DE VILLIERS SAID. "I'M GOING TO MAKE A GUESS, BUT I'D SAY  
WE CAN SELL IT TO 70 PER CENT OF THE AFRIKANER POPULATION.

OTHER LOCAL OBSERVERS OF AFRIKANER POLITICS ARE  
CONVINCED THAT THE POLITICAL WINDS ARE BLOWING PRE-  
CISELY IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION - TOWARD THE VERKRAMPTE

CAMP. THEY POINT TO THE RECENT PUBLIC POSTURING OF BOTH VORSTER AND MULDER WHO HAVE FELT OBLIGED TO BE SEEN SIDING PUBLICLY WITH TREURNICHT, EVEN THOUGH HE IS ONLY A JUNIOR MINISTER IN OPPOSITION TO THE KOORNHOF LINE OF THINKING. TREURNICHT, THESE OBSERVERS SAY, COULD NOT BE SPEAKING OUT SO OPENLY AND BOLDLY UNLESS HE WERE CONFIDENT OF GAINING MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR HIS VIEWS INSIDE THE NATIONAL PARTY.

A SIMILAR VIEWPOINT HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN THE AFRIKANER NEWSPAPER VADERLAND, WIDELY REGARDED AS THE MOUTHPIECE OF MULDER, WHO AS LEADER OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN THE TRANSVAAL COMMANDS THE BIGGEST BLOCK OF VOTERS IN THE ALL-POWERFUL PARTY CAUCUS.

THE NEWSPAPER NOTED THAT "RIGHT-WINGS WINDS ARE BLOWING STRONGLY" AMONG AFRIKANERS AND THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE IS "HALT NOW, CONCESSIONS ARE NOT HELPING US AT ALL." HE CONCLUDED THAT TREURNICHT AND HIS SUPPORTERS HAD THE MAJORITY NOW IN THE PARTY CAUCUS.

WHETHER EVEN AN ETHNICALLY BASED CONFEDERATION LIKE WHAT THE VERLIGTE AFRIKANERS ARE PROPOSING WOULD SATISFY THE MAJORITY BLACK POPULATION, OR THE HIGHLY CRITICAL OUTSIDE WORLD, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. BUT IT APPEARS THAT THIS IS THE MOST CHANGE THAT CAN BE EXPECTED FROM THE POLITICAL DEBATE NOW UNDER WAY AMONG TOP AFRIKANER POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEADERS.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 149723

BECAUSE THE RACE FOR PARTY LEADERSHIP IS UNDER WAY THE STATEMENTS OF THE VARIOUS MINISTERS ARE BEING ANALYZED, ATTACKED OR DEFENDED IN A SPECIAL LIGHT. AT THE SAME TIME, IT APPEARS SOME OF THE CONTENDERS ARE AS MUCH POSTURING TO RALLY SUPPORT FOR THEMSELVES INSIDE THE PARTY AS THEY ARE INTERESTED IN DEBATING ALTERNATIVES TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONALLY CONDEMNED APARTHEID POLICY.

FOR INSTANCE, MULDER HAS PUBLICLY ALIGNED HIMSELF RECENTLY WITH THE VERKRAMPTE CHAMPION, TREURNICHT, BECAUSE MULDER IS SUSPECTED IN SOME RIGHT-WING NATIONALIST CIRCLES OF BEING "TOO LIBERAL," WHILE FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA IS MAKING SUPERNATIONALISTIC STATEMENTS IN DEFENSE OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA IN THE UNITED STATES PARTLY BECAUSE HE TOO IS REGARDED AS EXCESSIVELY "VERLIGTE" INSIDE HIS OWN PARTY.

BOTHA'S SPIRITED ATTACKS ON THE APPARENT U.S. DEMAND FOR THE APPLICATION OF A ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE POLICY HERE AS A "COMMITMENT TO SUICIDE" FOR WHITES HAS EARNED HIM HIGH

MARKS IN ALMOST ALL QUARTERS OF THE AFRIKANER ELECTORATE. HE IS NOW PERCEIVED AS THE AFRIKANER DAVID STANDING UP TO THE AMERICAN GOLIATH, A HELPFUL IMAGE FOR A NEWCOMER AND DARK HORSE IN THE RACE FOR THE PREMIERSHIP.

WHETHER ANY MAJOR CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICY AS A RESULT OF THE DEBATE IN THE NATIONAL PARTY IS STILL UNCERTAIN AND PROBABLY WILL NOT BECOME CLEAR UNTIL THIS FALL WHEN A CABINET COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED LAST YEAR TO EXAMINE ALTERNATIVES PRESENTS ITS

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 149723

RECOMMENDATIONS TO A SERIES OF PROVINCIAL PARTY CONGRESSES.

NONETHELESS, THE BLURRED OUTLINES OF THE VERLIGTE WING'S PROPOSAL FOR A "NEW DEAL" IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE ALREADY BEGINNING TO EMERGE THANKS TO A STORM-PROVOKING SPEECH BY SPORTS MINISTER KOORNHOF AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PLURAL SOCIETIES LAST MONTH IN CAPE TOWN.

KOORNHOF, WHO IS ENGINEERING THE SLOW BREAKDOWN OF SEGREGATION IN SPORTS HERE, SUGGESTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA GIVE UP THE BRITISH-STYLE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM AND ADOPT SOME "VARIANT OF THE SWISS SYSTEM" OF SEMI-AUTONOMOUS CANTONS LINKED IN A LOOSE CONFEDERATION. IN DELIBERATELY OBSCURE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE (HE HOLDS A DOCTORATE IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY FROM OXFORD UNIVERSITY), HE SPELLED OUT HIS NOTION OF HOW A SYSTEM OF "PLURAL DEMOCRACY" MIGHT BE SET UP IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH AN "OVER-ARCHING INSTITUTION" ALLOWING FOR "CROSS-ETHNIC OR CROSS-COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING."

"IN A NUTSHELL," HE SAID, "A POLICY OF PLURAL DEMOCRACIES... IS A COALITION OF AUTONOMOUS AND MAINLY TERRITORIALLY BASED UNITS COOPERATING WITHIN A POLITICAL SYSTEM PROVIDING FOR "CONSENSUAL DECISION-MAKING" AT BOTH THE GROUP AND NATIONAL LEVEL.

"AUTONOMOUS INSTITUTIONS WILL ALLOW EACH UNIT TO HANDLE THE EVERYDAY NEEDS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WILL PROVIDE FOR THE COORDINATION OF COLLECTIVE BUT CONSENSUAL DECISION-MAKING IN MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST BETWEEN THE GROUPS."

WHILE KOORNHOF SAID HIS PLAN CONCERNED MAINLY THE WHITES, "COLOREDS" AND INDIANS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 149723

WOULD NOT INCLUDE THE INDEPENDENT BLACK HOMELANDS, HE HINTED AT THE INCLUSION OF THE NINE MILLION BLACKS NOW LIVING INSIDE THE SO-CALLED WHITE AREAS.

"THERE IS A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH BELIEVES THAT THESE BLACKS, AS SEPARATE COMMUNITIES, SHOULD ALSO BE ULTIMATELY PHASED INTO THE CULTURAL PLURALISM ORBIT," HE SAID. "POLITICS ESPECIALLY IN THESE TIMES ARE UNPREDICTABLE AND ONLY TIME WILL PROVE WHETHER THIS LINE OF THOUGHT IS FEASIBLE OR NOT."

THE KOORNHOF SPEECH CAUSED AN UPROAR IN CONSERVATIVE

AFRIKANER CIRCLES, PARTICULARLY OVER HIS SUGGESTION THAT BLACKS MIGHT ONE DAY PARTICIPATE WITH WHITES IN DECISION-MAKING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. TREURNICHT TOOK THE LEAD IN DEFENDING THE VERKRAMPTE'S SACRED COWS AGAINST KOORNHOF'S BLASPHEMY.

SPEAKING TWO WEEKS AGO AT A CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS, ONE OF THE VERKRAMPTE'S MAIN "THINK TANKS," TREURNICHT SAID THE ONLY CHANGES ACCEPTABLE WERE THOSE AIMED AT SPEEDING UP THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL APARTHEID.

"WE DO NOT WANT TO SIT IN A PARLIAMENT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER PEOPLES WHO CAN DESTROY THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE WHITES BY MAJORITY VOTE," HE SAID. "WE ARE NOT EVEN PREPARED TO SEAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SMALLER PEOPLES ("COLOREDS" AND INDIANS) IN OUR PARLIAMENT, AND THEREFORE WE ARE LEADING THEM ALONG THE PATH TOWARD THEIR OWN PARLIAMENTS WHICH WILL HAVE FULL AUTHORITY OVER THEIR OWN PEOPLE."

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 149723

AS FOR THE NINE MILLION BLACKS LIVING IN WHITE AREAS, THEY WOULD HAVE TO LOOK TO THEIR EMERGING HOMELANDS FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR POLITICAL AND CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS.

IN EFFECT, TREURNICHT GAVE A LOUD "NO" TO ALL THE KEY VERLIGTE PROPOSALS: A SUPER-CABINET OF WHITES, COLOREDS AND INDIANS PARTICIPATING IN JOINT DECISION-MAKING, AND THE COMING TOGETHER OF ALL GROUPS, INCLUDING EVENTUALLY THE URBAN BLACKS, IN A SWISS-TYPE CONFEDERATION.

AT THE SAME TIME ALL BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS IDEOLOGISTS ARE EVEN PROPAGATING THE IDEA THAT THE INDIANS

AND "COLOREDS" SHOULD HAVE THEIR OWN SEPARATE HOMELANDS LIKE THE BLACKS AND BE TOTALLY BANISHED FROM THE WHITE

POLITICAL WORLD.

WHETHER THE LIBERAL OR ARCH-CONSERVATIVE WING OF THE NATIONAL PARTY WILL PREVAIL IN THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE IS VERY MUCH IN QUESTION.

KOORNHOF AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE VERLIGTE WING, SEEM CONFIDENT THAT THE INTERNAL PRESSURE OF BLACK UNREST AND THE EXTERNAL INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD AND THE WESTERN POWERS GIVE THEM THE ADVANTAGE.

INTERVIEWED IN HIS CAPE TOWN OFFICE LAST WEEK, KOORNHOF SAID HE FELT A PROPOSAL FOR NATIONAL POWER-SHARING AT LEAST AMONG WHITES, COLOREDS AND INDIANS WOULD EMERGE FROM THE CURRENT DELIBERATIONS OF THE SPECIAL CONSTITUTIONAL CABINET COMMITTEE. HE SAID THAT THE KEY TO PUSHING THROUGH SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD BE GETTING A CONSENSUS AMONG AFRIKANER LEADERS AND THAT HE WAS NOW ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF "CONSENSUS BUILDING."  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 149723

"IF THERE IS A CONSENSUS AT THE TOP, THEN THE BOTTOM (OF THE NATIONAL PARTY) WILL FOLLOW," HE PREDICTED.

WHETHER A CONSENSUS WILL BE REACHED ON WHAT THE VERKRAMPTE REGARDS AS A HERESY IN THE APARTHEID IDEOLOGY DEPENDS, IN THE VIEW OF KOORNHOF AND MANY OTHER VERLIGTE LEADERS, ON WHAT POSITION PRIME MINISTER VORSTER ULTIMATELY TAKES.

VORSTER SO FAR HAS SEEMED MORE ANXIOUS TO PRESERVE AFRIKANER UNITY IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS FOR SOUTH AFRICA THAN TO TAKE SIDES IN THE BATTLE. HE IS SAID TO BE EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT HIS ROLE IN AFRIKANERDOM HISTORY AND ANXIOUS TO AVOID BEING MARKED AS THE MAN WHO OVERSAW THE "GREAT DIVIDE" AMONG AFRIKANERS AFTER 30 YEARS OF UNINTERRUPTED RULE.

TO THE MINORITY ENGLISH-SPEAKING WHITE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE WHOLE DEBATE WITHIN RULING AFRIKANER CIRCLES HAS A SLIGHTLY SURREALISTIC APPEARANCE. BASICALLY, IT HAS VERY LITTLE MEANING TO THE "90 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION (THAT) IS STANDING BY WATCHING IN A DETACHED AND SOMEWHAT MYSTIFIED WAY," THE RAND DAILY MAIL REMARKED IN AN EDITORIAL.

"TO THIS GREAT MASS OF OUTSIDERS THE THING LOOKS

SUSPICIOUSLY LIKE THE BEGINNINGS OF A POWER STRUGGLE TO DETERMINE THE SUCCESSION OF THE LEADERSHIP," SAID THE NEWSPAPER. "BUT BE THAT AS IT MAY, WHAT IS REALLY SIGNIFICANT IS THAT AS THE ARGUMENT DEVELOPS THE THEME

OF IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE VERKRAMPT.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 149723

"INDEED, IT HAS CEASED TO BE THE OLD CONTEST BETWEEN VERKRAMPTE AND VERLIGTE; NOW IT IS JUST BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT BRANDS OF VERKRAMPTHEID (CONSERVATISM). IT SEEMS THAT ANY KIND OF REAL VERLIGHTHEID (ENLIGHTENMENT) IN THE NATIONAL PARTY HAS BEEN ANNIHILATED."

U.S. SHIFTS ITS EMPHASIS ON SOUTH AFRICA, BOTHA SAYS

JOHANNESBURG, JUNE 26 (AP) - SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER R.F. BOTHA SAID TODAY THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS SHIFTED EMPHASIS IN ITS DEMAND THAT SOUTH AFRICA GRANT INCREASED RIGHTS TO ITS MAJORITY BLACK POPULATION.

BOTHA ARRIVED IN JOHANNESBURG AFTER A WEEK LONG VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

"I DO NOT RETURN WITH A COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT EXACTLY MEANS BY ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE MAJORITY GOVERNMENT AND THE CONCEPT OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT," BOTHA SAID.

"BUT THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT OF EMPHASIS IN THE SENSE THAT AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE MAIN AIM OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS THAT HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM MUST BE APPLIED ALL OVER THE WORLD."

BOTHA BEGAN HIS U.S. TOUR APPARENTLY CONVINCED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION INSISTED ON A ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE SYSTEM FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, INCLUDING BLACKS. IN A U.S. TELEVISION INTERVIEW, HE SAID, "WE'RE NOT GOING TO ACCEPT ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE. IT MEANS OUR DESTRUCTION."

THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID FRIDAY, HOWEVER, BEFORE HE LEFT WASHINGTON THAT HE HAD REASON TO HOPE THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT MODIFY ITS DEMANDS FOR RADICAL INTERNAL  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 149723

CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.  
VANCE UNQTE VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** RULING PARTY, PRESS COMMENTS, PARTY DISSENSION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 27-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE149723  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** AF/P:BARUSSELL:ADR  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770229-1194  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197706110/baaaetdg.tel  
**Line Count:** 860  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** ef1f9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN AF  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 16  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 15-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2013361  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** OTTAWAY ARTICLE ON DIVISIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA'S RULING PARTY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, SOPN, SF, US  
**To:** CAPE TOWN PRETORIA  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/ef1f9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009